

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 DRC-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AECE-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00

EUR-25 H-03 INR-11 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01

PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15

TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 /153 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0363

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0198

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AHG MEETING OF JULY
22, 1974

1. BEGINE SUMMARY. AT ITS JULY 22 MEETING,
THE AD HOC GROUP, CHAIRED BY CANADIAN REP
GRANDE, HEARD REPORT OF BILATERAL BETWEEN
UK REP ROSE AND SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY
(SEPTTEL) AND APPROVED CHAIRMAN'S WEEKLY
REPROT FOR JULY 15-21 (SEPTTEL). GROUP
THEN TURNED TO UK DRAFT TEXT OF PART TWO
OF FINAL AHG REPROT TO NAC ON RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR GUIDANCE. THE MAIN ISSUE WAS

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WHETHER THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK AUTHORITY TO

GIVE THE EAST, ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS, A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF ALLIED GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER. AHG AGREED TO MAKE INTRODUCTION OF COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN CONTINGENT ON PREVIOUS EASTERN AGREEMENT TO AN EXCHANGE ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS. OTHER ISSUES RAISED DURING THE DISCUSSION WERE WHETHER ARMAMENTS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT AND WHETHER THE ALLIES SHOULD ACCEPT AIR FORCE MANPOWER LIMITATIONS. SOME REPS SUGGESTED THAT BOTH ISSUES MIGHT BE HANDLED BY NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE. DISCUSSION OF PART TWO OF AHG REPORT TO NAC WILL RESUME AT NEXT AHG MEETING ON JULY 23. END SUMMARY.

BILATERALS

2. UK REP (ROSE) DISTRIBUTED A REPORT OF JULY 19 BILATERAL WITH SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY (MBFR VIENNA 192). ROSE SAID SMIRNOVSKY TOOK LITTLE INITIATIVE AND SAID LITTLE THAT WAS POSITIVE. HE SAID SMIRNOVSKY APPEARED UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT THE FACT THAT KHLESTOV HAD REJECTED THE ALLIED "ALL PARTICIPANTS" OFFER IN HIS JULY 17 PLENARY STATEMENT. ROSE ALSO REPROVED THAT SMIRNOVSKY APPEARED UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT DATA, KNOWING THAT THE EAST WAS ON THE DEFENSIVE ON THIS ISSUE.

AHG FINAL REPORT TO NAC

3. UK REP DISTRIBUTED THE DRAFT TEXT OF PART TWO OF THE FINAL AHG REPORT TO NAC (ON RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GUIDANCE), WITH CERTAIN EDITORIAL CHANGES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE JULY 19 AHG DISCUSSION OF PART I (MBFR 193 AND 185). THE CHAIRMAN (GRANDE) NOTED THAT THIS DRAFT TEXT ASKED ALL BUT ONE OF THE QUESTIONS, PREVIOUSLY POSED BY THE AHG IN ITS APRIL 5

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REPORT. THAT ONE EXCEPTION WAS WHETHER STABILIZING MEASURES SHOULD APPLY TO ALL FORCES IN THE AREA, RATHER THAN TO US AND SOVIET FORCES. GRANDE SUGGESTED THAT THE GROUP SHOULD CONSIDER AT A LATER TIME WHETHER IT ALSO WANTED TO INCLUDE THAT QUESTION IN THE CURRENT REPORT.

4. ITALIAN ACTING REP (TALIANI) TOOK ISSUE WITH THE DRAFT QUESTION WHICH ASSUMED THERE WOULD BE CEILINGS ON US AND SOVIET ARMAMENTS AND WHICH THEN ASKED FOR GUIDANCE ON WHETHER ARMAMENTS SHOULD THEREFORE BE INCLUDED IN THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT. TALIANI THOUGHT THE

QUESTION OF US-SOVIET ARMAMENT CEILINGS SHOULD BE AN INDEPENDENT QUESTION FOR GUIDANCE, NOT AN ASSUMPTION. GROUP AGREED, AND THIS POINT WILL BE REFLECTED IN UK REVISED TEXT.

5. FRG REP (BEHREND) SUGGESTED THAT OTHER QUESTIONS ALSO WERE INVOLVED IN THIS GENERAL ISSUE. FOR EXAMPLE, COULD THE WEST ACCEPT A CEILING ON US TANKS IF THIS WOULD MAKE THE PROPOSED WITHDRAWAL OF 1,700 SOVIET TANKS MORE NEGOTIABLE? FRG REP ALSO SUGGESTED REPHRASING THE QUESTION ABOUT ARMAMENTS IN THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT. HE NOTED THAT THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT IS INTENDED TO LEAD IN PHASE II TO REDUCTIONS TO THE COMMON CEILING, THEREFORE, IF ARMAMENTS ARE INCLUDED IN THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT, THE ALLIES WOULD IN EFFECT BE INDICATING THEY WOULD BE INCLUDED IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS. BEHREND SUGGESTED, INSTEAD, THAT THE REPORT ASK WHETHER ANY CEILINGS ON NON-US OR NON-SOVIET ARMAMENTS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. GROUP AGREED, AND UK REVISED TEXT WILL TAKE THESE COMMENTS INTO

ACCOUNT.

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INFO OCT-01 DRC-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AECE-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0364
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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

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6. FRG REP OFFERED THE FURTHER OPINION THAT IN PHASE I ARMAMENTS SHOULD BE INCLUDED ONLY UNDER THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION, AND NOT UNDER THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT. ITALIAN ACTING REP AGREED WITH FRG REP, NOTING THAT NAC GUIDANCE ON THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT INTENTIONALLY DID NOT INCLUDE ARMAMENTS. THEREFORE, IT WAS INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE AHG TO ASK AGAIN. TALIANI AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF ARMAMENTS SHOULD BE COVERED BY NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

7. UK REP SAID HE SYMPATHIZED WITH TALIANI AND BEHREND, AND ADDED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY
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TO AVOID PREJUDICING THE CONTENT OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS. HOWEVER, ROSE ARGUED THAT SIMPLY SAYING THAT ARMAMENTS WOULD BE COVERED BY A NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION WAS INSUFFICIENT. THE EAST HAD VOICED MANY CRITICISMS OF THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT AND THE ALLIES NEEDED TO BE ABLE TO ANSWER THESE CRITICISMS MORE DIRECTLY. ROSE THEREFORE SUGGESTED ASKING NAC WHETHER PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE, IN RELATION TO FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, FOR NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF ANY PHASE I LIMITATION ON US OR SOVIET ARMAMENTS, AND IF SO, HOW. GROUP AGREED, AND QUESTION WILL BE INCLUDED IN REVISED TEXT.

8. US REP THEN DISTRIBUTED TEXTS OF THREE ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR GUIDANCE ON DATA. ONE REQUESTED AUTHORITY TO INTRODUCE TO THE EAST OVERALL NATO

FIGURES FOR THE TOTAL AIR FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE. A SECOND REQUESTED AUTHORITY TO EXCHANGE WITH EAST, ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS, A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF ALLIED TOTALS FOR GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER. A THIRD REQUESTED AUTHORITY TO USE THE RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF DATA TO MENTION TO THE EAST REVISIONS IN NATO ESTIMATES OF TOTAL NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES. US REP ARGUED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD PRESENT ALLIED DATA ON TOTALS OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE EAST THAT THE ASYMMETRY OF REDUCTIONS WOULD NOT BE REDUCED BY INCLUSION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER.

9. UK REP QUESTIONED THE NEED TO HAVE AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS BY SEPTEMBER 15, AS RECOMMENDED IN THE US DRAFT; ROSE WONDERED WHETHER THE AHG WISHED TO MOVE THAT QUICKLY NEXT SESSION. US REP AGREED THAT THE AHG REPROT SHOULD NOT PREEMPT SUBSEQUENT AHG DISCUSSIONS ON WHEN TO INTRODUCE DATA. HOWEVER, HE SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE EARLY GUIDANCE IN ORDER TO MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR DATA DISCUSSIONS. THE CHAIRMAN POINTED OUT THAT THE MC224 MEETING WOULD NOT BE FINISHED UNTIL OCTOBER AND SUGGESTED THAT
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PERHAPS THE GROUP SHOULD NOT ASK FOR GUIDANCE UNTIL THAT EXERCISE WAS COMPLETED. UK REP AGREED THAT A DATA AROUND OCTOBER 16 WAS MORE REASONABLE. US REP POINTED OUT THAT THE NATO HAD RECENTLY REACHED SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT ON THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS AND THAT THE MC224 CONFERENCE WOULD MERELY FORMALIZE THAT AGREEMENT. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT OCTOBER 7 WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIM.

10. REGARDING US RECOMMENDATION FOR AUTHORITY TO GIVE EAST COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF DATA, UK REP SAID HE WAS RELUCTANT TO GIVE MORE DETAILS BEFORE GETTING A RESPONSE FROM THE EAST. HE ARGUED THAT AN ALLIED OFFER TO BE FORTHCOMING ON FURTHER DATA DETAILS WILL NOT NECESSARILY PRODUCE THE RIGHT RESPONSE FROM EAST. ROSE INSISTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD GIVE FURTHER FIGURES ONLY IF SOME POSITIVE EASTERN RESPONSE WAS RECEIVED AFTER ALLIED INTRODUCTION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS. UK REP ASKED WHY THE ALLIES NEEDED TO GIVE THE EAST COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN IN ANY CASE. US REP EXPLAINED THAT, AFTER GIVING AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS, ALLIES WOULD, ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS, GIVE COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN TO EXPLAIN THOSE TOTALS. THEREFORE, ALLIES WOULD NOT BE GIVING ADDITIONAL DATA

WITHOUT EASTERN RESPONSE, SINCE SUCH AN EXCHANGE
WOULD HAVE TO BE RECIPROCAL. US REP CONTINUED THAT
THE TOTALS MUST BE BROKEN DOWN IN SOME MANNER TO
PROVE THEIR ACCURACY TO THE EAST. A COUNTRY-BY-
COUNTRY BREAKDOWN GIVES THE EAST THE LEAST VALUABLE
INFORMATION. US REP ARGUED THAT, WHILE IT IS UNLIKELY
THAT THE EAST WILL AGREE TO THIS EXCHANGE OF DATA, THE
ALLIES SHOULD MAKE A STRONG PITCH FOR IT SINCE THE
WEST HOLDS THE ADVANTAGE ON THIS ISSUE.

11. FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES MIGHT OFFER
INSTEAD TO HAVE A RECIPROCAL DISCUSSION OF OVERALL
AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS.
IF, IN THE UNLIKELY CASE THAT THE EAST DOES AGREE TO
THAT EXCHANGE, THE ALLIES COULD THEN DISCUSS A
COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN.

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INFO UMSMISSION NATO 0305

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

12. UK REP ARGUED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT MOVE TO A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN WITHOUT DETERMINING THE DEFINITIONAL BASIS WHICH WOULD BE USED. THE EFFECT OF DEFINITIONS WILL CHANGE THE TOTALS. FOR EXAMPLE, SAID ROSE, CASE I (SEE MBFR 54 AND 55), INVOLVES TAKING 28,000 POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA TROOPS FROM GROUND FORCES AND INCLUDING THEM AS AIR FORCES. THIS REMOVES THE ARGUMENT THAT THERE IS NO DISPARITY IN THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER. ROSE THEREFORE SUGGESTED THAT THE AHG SHOULD RECOMMEND INTRODUCING AIR FORCE TOTALS BASED ON THE NEW DEFINITION BEFORE RECOMMENDING A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN. US REP AGREED TO THIS SEQUENCE, AND ALSO AGREED THAT GIVING THE EAST A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN COULD BE SECRET

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MADE CONDITIONAL ON THE EAST FIRST ENGAGING IN A RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE IN OVERALL TOTALS.

13. ITALIAN ACTING REP SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE GROUP NOW AGREED TO INTRODUCE A REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES BEFORE THE COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF DATA, AND THAT INTRODUCING THE BREAKDOWN WOULD BE CONTINGENT UPON EASTERN DISCUSSION OF AIR FORCE TOTALS. IN THAT SITUATION, ASKED TALLIANI, WHY WAS IT NECESSARY FOR THE AHG TO REQUEST AUTHORITY TO GIVE COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN AT THIS TIME. HE NOTED IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD AGREE TO DISCUSS TOTALS.

14. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENNSSEN) SAID ANOTHER PROBLEM WITH THE US RECOMMENDATION FOR A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN WAS THAT IT INCLUDED A STRONG CASE FOR A CERTAIN METHOD FOR BREAKING DOWN TOTALS. HE SUGGESTED THE METHOD SHOULD BE DECIDED BY THE AHG WHEN THE GROUP IS IN A POSITION TO DECIDE WHEN AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE EAST. ADRIAENNSSEN ARGUED THAT A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN MAY BE A STEP BACKWARD FROM GLOBAL CEILINGS, SINCE NATIONAL BREAKDOWNS IMPLY NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS. BELGIAN REP THEREFORE

STRONGLY RECOMMENDED AGAINST GETTING INTO A DISCUSSION OF METHOD AT THIS TIME.

15. ITALIAN ACTING REP REPEATED THAT IT WAS HIGHLY PREMATURE TO SEEK AUTHORITY TO GIVE A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF DATA. AHG SHOULD RESERVE THIS RECOMMENDATION FOR THE FUTURE. IF THE ALLIES SUCCEED IN GETTING AN EXCHANGE ON TOTALS, THEN THE AHG CAN REVERT TO THIS PROBLEM. FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES SHOULD MAKE CLEAR IN THE REPORT TO NAC THAT, IN THE UNLIKELY CASE THAT THE EAST DOES ACCEPT AN EXCHANGE ON TOTALS, THE AHG WILL HAVE TO ASK ON SHORT NOTICE FOR DETAILED INFORMATION ON DATA, FOR EXAMPLE, A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN. HE AGREED WITH SECRET

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ITALIAN ACTING REP THAT THIS GUIDANCE WAS NOT NECESSARY AT THIS STAGE. AHG DECIDED TO POSTPONE FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE UNTIL ITS NEXT MEETING ON JULY 23. UK REP WILL THEN DISTRIBUTE A REVISED TEXT OF PART TWO WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE ABOVE DISCUSSION.

16. REGARDING THE ASSUMPTION IN UK DRAFT TEXT THAT THE ALLIES WILL HAVE TO ENVISAGE LIMITATIONS ON AIR MANPOWER OF BOTH SIDES IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT ON GROUND FORCES, ITALIAN ACTING REP SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES WERE ON DANGEROUS GROUND HERE. TALIANI SAID THIS STATEMENT ASSUMES TOO MUCH. HE RECOMMENDED ADDING A REFERENCE TO THE AHG REPORT OF APRIL 5, WHICH ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INCLUSION OF AIR MANPOWER AND EQUIPMENT IN THE COMMON CEILING, AND REMINDING NAC OF THOSE PREVIOUS QUESTIONS. FRG REP DISAGREED ARGUING THAT THE APRIL 5 QUESTIONS WERE TOO SWEEPING IN NATURE. BEHRENDT SAID THE ALLIES CAN NOW SEE ISSUES MORE CLEARLY. FOR EXAMPLE, BY ASKING IF AIR FORCE MANPOWER SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE COMMON CEILING, ALLIES ARE REALLY ASKING IF AIR FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. THEREFORE, THE APRIL 5 REPORT WENT A LITTLE FAR. HE WOULD PREFER TO BE MORE MODEST IN REQUESTS TO NAC. FRG REP SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, MAKING UK TEXT'S ASSUMPTION ABOUT AIR MANPOWER LIMITATIONS AN INDEPENDENT REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS NECESSARY IN SOME WAY TO PREVENT A CHANGE OF UNIFORM FROM ADVERSELY AFFECTING A GROUND FORCE

REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT.

17. UK REP AGREED, POINTING OUT THAT THE ALLIES
MUST DEAL WITH AIR FORCE MANPOWER EITHER IN
REDUCTIONS OR IN NON-CIRCUMVENTION. HE SUGGESTED
THAT THE QUESTION SHOULD BE PHRASED LOOSELY IN
ORDER NOT TO PREJUDICE THE ANSWER. AHG AGREED
TO HAVE THE UK TEXT REVISED TO REFLECT THE ABOVE
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DISCUSSION ON AIR MANPOWER LIMITATIONS. TEXT WILL
BE FURTHER DISCUSSED ON JULY 23.

AHG CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR PERIOD JULY 15-21

18. GROUP APPROVED, AS DRAFTED BY THE BELGIAN
DEL, THE TEXT OF THE AHG CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR
PERIOD JULY 15-21, 1974 (MBFR VIENNA 0191).

19. NEXT AHG MEETING SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY, JULY 23. RESOR

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